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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-EIGHTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 29 January 1993, at 10.30 a.m.

President:	Mr. HATANO	(Japan)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Djibouti	Mr. OLHAYE
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDOS
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PERKINS
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 12.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN ANGOLA

(a) FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS ANGOLA VERIFICATION MISSION (UNAVEM II) (S/25140 and Add.1)

(b) LETTER DATED 25 JANUARY 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/25161)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Angola, Cuba, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Namibia, Portugal, Zaire and Zimbabwe in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

On behalf of the Council, I welcome the Minister of External Relations of Angola.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. de Moura (Angola) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Hidalgo Basulto (Cuba), Mr. Touré (Guinea-Bissau), Mr. Afonso (Mozambique), Mr. Huaraka (Namibia), Mr. Catarino (Portugal), Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji (Zaire) and Mr. Mumbegegwi (Zimbabwe) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

(The President)

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations and also in response to the request contained in a letter dated 25 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General, document S/25161.

Members of the Council have before them the further special report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), document S/25140 and Add.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/25187, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/25109, letter dated 14 January 1993 from the Chargé d'affaires a.i. of the Permanent Mission of Senegal to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25151, letter dated 22 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Denmark to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; S/25155, letter dated 22 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Angola to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General; and S/25177, letter dated 27 January 1993 from the Permanent Representative of South Africa to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

(The President)

The first speaker is the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venancio de Moura, on whom I now call.

Mr. de MOURA (Angola) (spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation): When on 22 December 1988, in this very room before the Security Council, the New York Accords were signed, they facilitated the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on the independence of Namibia. On that occasion, the people of Angola not only contributed significantly to the attainment of peace and stability in south-west Africa but also saw the first signs of hope for reconciliation, peace and democracy in Angola.

At that time, a programme was established to settle the internal conflict, provided that all foreign interference would cease. Whether such interference in the internal affairs of Angola has indeed stopped is an issue that I will address in just a moment.

None the less, the Government of President José Eduardo dos Santos, desirous of peace for his people and of a peaceful, negotiated solution to the internal conflict, concluded the peace agreements for Angola with the mediation of the Government of Portugal and assistance from the United States of America as well as the then Soviet Union. The negotiation lasted approximately eight months. In the presence of two prestigious members of the Council - the United States of America and the then Soviet Union - in the presence of the Secretary-General and of the Acting Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and its Secretary-General, President José Eduardo dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, on 31 May 1991, under the hopeful eye of their host, the Prime Minister of Portugal, signed an agreement intended to silence the arms throughout the territory of Angola.

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

Throughout the 16 years of war characterized by the indiscriminate destruction of human life and property that Mr. Savimbi's UNITA waged on his own people, there was a cry for the establishment of a multi-party democracy. That is a reality today in Angola. Of the 18 parties that ran in the September 1992 elections, 12 have seats in the Parliament, including UNITA, which has 70 seats, making it the leading opposition party. Taking into account the history and reality of Angola, a Government of National Reconciliation and Unity was inaugurated on 4 December 1992 with members from all of the parties with seats in Parliament, including UNITA. It should be noted that the winning party, the MPLA, could have formed the Government by itself, as occurs in many other countries. So far, even as I speak, Mr. Savimbi has yet to allow any of his people to take their seats in the Parliament or the Government of National Reconciliation and Unity.

With the signing of the New York Accords, but especially with the Angola Peace Accords, it became possible to establish a democratic State, a State under the rule of law with a market-based economic system. For one and a half years, we experienced a short-lived peace in that embryonic phase of our democracy. Thus, it was possible to hold the elections within the anticipated time-frame. Almost 5 million registered to vote out of a population estimated at approximately 10 million, which revealed the will of the Angolan people for peace and democracy. But our country continues to be in a virtual state of war caused by Mr. Savimbi, which hinders the full functioning of our elected democratic institutions.

While all wars, in the final analysis, are always tragic, even when justified by their ends, the war that Mr. Savimbi is currently waging against

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

the people of Angola and the institutions of the Angolan State, besides being tragic, is above all a criminal act because it is based on the destruction of economic targets and social infrastructure. It is criminal because it destroys human life and because it is motivated by selfishness and personal ambition for power. It is criminal because it shows disrespect for the instituted laws of the country and because it denies the minimal rules of democratic interaction in a State under the rule of law.

It all began when Mr. Savimbi refused to recognize his defeat at the polls and refused to participate in the second round of the presidential elections because it would have brought him greater humiliation. It all began when he urged his generals, already integrated into the Angolan Armed Forces, to go back into the bush, to unleash the military occupation of a number of towns and municipalities in flagrant violation of the agreements and of the military oath that they had taken. Thus, defenceless communities, representatives of the established authority and members of parties other than UNITA were soon massacred throughout the country. If to some of us in Angola who are familiar with Mr. Savimbi that negative attitude is not surprising, much of the international community wondered whether the acts of destruction carried out by Mr. Savimbi and UNITA's radical wing, which he leads, had really taken place.

We invite those reluctant to believe to visit Angola in order to see for themselves the destroyed bridges, schools and water reservoirs, and they can also listen to the statements of dissidents of Mr. Savimbi's militarist faction.

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

For years, Mr. Savimbi has fooled everyone by trying to pass himself off as the defender of democracy and the liberator of the Angolan people. But what sort of liberator would massacre his own people and destroy their property? What sort of liberator would destroy the country he wishes to rule? What sort of liberator would fail to fulfil the promises he made before the international community? What humanist is this who burns people, kills elephants indiscriminately, steals diamonds and destroys bridges, electricity and water-supply plants, all of the infrastructure the people need to live?

Although it came late, we appreciate the clear and unequivocal position taken recently by the international community in condemning the aggressive and militaristic actions of UNITA's radical leadership. Many of the Governments here represented have already taken courageous and firm positions making it quite clear who it is that is operating outside the law or the democratic order established in Angola after the elections which this Council endorsed. However, we should like these positions to be more forceful and to be backed up with a resolution from this Council condemning UNITA's aggressive military faction. The direct or indirect involvement of Zaire and South Africa in the internal affairs of Angola must also be condemned. We should like the Security Council to conduct an international investigation to look into the involvement of those countries, and we should like an international human rights commission and the International Committee of the Red Cross to send representatives to Jamba, in Angola, to bring freedom to the families of many UNITA dissidents currently being held outside of Jamba and to allow the free movement of the people who are now held captive in that part of the country.

In all civilized democratic nations, those who break the law and who commit crimes are penalized. In the modern world there are countries or

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

individuals who are penalized for not fulfilling their international commitments. For this reason, we should like the Security Council to adopt a resolution and to study the use of more forceful and effective measures to help the Angolan people and its elected Government defend the democratic law established in the Bicesse Accords, which were endorsed by the Security Council and which are now being jeopardized by Mr. Savimbi. We should like all those who have had or still have connections with Mr. Savimbi to persuade him to keep the promises he made, the rules of the democratic game and the agreements undertaken in the Bicesse Accords. UNITA participated in the drafting and the approval of the constitutional law which is now in effect in our country. UNITA also participated in the adoption of the electoral laws and the law of the parties which regulated the elections. We should like UNITA to be transformed into a real democratic party, a UNITA that would participate in the peace process and in the process of national reconstruction.

Still on the subject of foreign interference in Angola's affairs, it is hard to undersand how representatives of countries that are facing grave internal problems and that are also the subject of international condemnation, such as the white minority Government in South Africa, can place themselves among those outside their borders who want to resolve the problems of Angola.

In Angola there is a Government elected by universal suffrage, which is still not the case in South Africa. With what legitimacy, then, can a representative of a non-democratic Government intervene in the internal affairs of my country, and what valid experience can he share with us? We can only conclude that the real intent is masked interference or violation of the New York Accords, signed on 22 December 1988. Neither can we understand that there are still countries, even in Africa, that describe the Angolan conflict

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

as a conflict between the MPLA and UNITA, when all of us know that we have held multi-party elections, with more than 1,000 foreign observers invited by the 18 parties participating in the elections, which were found to be free and fair. We all know that on 17 November 1992, in Angola, a national parliament and a Government were seated with broad political representation, the result of the popular vote at the ballot box. This new Government has been functioning since 4 December 1992.

Those who still give logistical support or other facilities to Mr. Savimbi's UNITA are wittingly or unwittingly encouraging the arrogance and intransigence of the soldiers of an illegal army that has been formally non-existent since before the elections. The sole objective of this army is to impede the functioning of the nation, a nation that we should like to see united and indivisible. To prove the facts about foreign interference described in the letters the President of the Republic of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council, a document containing a list of facts that are evidence of the involvement of the Governments of Zaire and South Africa will be made available for the review of the members of the Security Council.

Nevertheless, if I may, I should like to mention some of these points. On 23 January 1993, at the Buntu airstrip, on the Namibian border with Angola, Namibian authorities seized three South African Douglas DC-6 four-engine planes. These are three aircraft of a total of four of the same type that were engaged in illegal activities, namely, the transport of supplies for UNITA troops. Their licence plate numbers are as follows: VC-NCC; N 44DG; V5 JJL; and ZS/KIY. On 26 January the Namibian Government issued a statement on the seizure of those planes.

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

A document, number 092.SARM/PRE of 2 May 1992, signed by a Colonel who calls himself Moliba Tewa Desana, Deputy Chief of Staff for Information of the Zairian Army, contains information about the creation of two clandestine networks under the code names of "Mulele" and "Swallows" to carry out acts of destabilization inside Angolan territory. According to a report made available to the Angolan Government, these clandestine networks started their activities inside Angola on 30 April last year. The "Mulele" network includes two autonomous terrorist groups, of 12 elements each, led by Sumahili Kazi and Shabani Musinqise. The "Swallows" network comprises 10 female members divided into three independent groups led by Fuka Mazili, Bea Pitose and Kumbe Eyenga; this network's plan is to introduce into Angola 100 billion counterfeit kwanza, the Angolan currency, in order to create financial instability in our country.

On 23 January 1993, 120 Zairian and South African soldiers were dropped by Puma helicopters just outside Huambo. Three Zairians were captured and one South African was wounded. They are in Angola.

On 22 January 1993, a Hercules C-130 aircraft was shot down and crashed somewhere in the Tchicala Tchiloango region.

UNITA soldiers are encamped in various locations in the province of Shaba, Republic of Zaire. Two of these locations are Lukuni, 12 kilometres from Lubumbashi, and Briqueville/Kolwezi, where UNITA troops are integrated into the 14th Brigade of the Zairian Armed Forces. I shall not give all these references in order not to dwell too long on the matter; the information is available to the members of the Council should they wish to review it.

On this occasion we wish, therefore, to denounce and condemn before the Council the intention to divide Angola into two or three parts as proposed by

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

Mr. Savimbi. Mr. Savimbi's illegal troops do not even have the capability to provide a minimum administration in the areas they are occupying. In those areas they merely kill people and loot, pillage and destroy civilian targets.

It is no longer possible, therefore, to tolerate this situation. To avoid being totally discredited, the Parliament and the Government of National Reconstruction and Unity have had to act in support of those who had installed them in office, trusted them and delegated their destinies to them. Not to assume our responsibilities as a Government would open the way to disorder and chaos. The Angolan Government forces defend, as in any other country in the world, the integrity and sovereignty of their State. These forces restore order and legality where they have been violated by Mr. Savimbi's UNITA.

Despite all this, the Government of Angola has not closed the door to dialogue. Therefore, if Mr. Savimbi is truly interested in putting an end to the war that he began, again, and claims, again, to command by declaring that he was returning to military uniform, he must comply scrupulously with the terms of the accords signed in Portugal; announce a date for renewing the unconditional cease-fire that he violated; agree to disarm, assemble in camps and demobilize his troops under the supervision of UNAVEM II; and, finally, present UNITA as a de jure and de facto political party and occupy the positions due him and his party in the Parliament and Government.

The Angolan Government has no interest in a military solution, nor in seeing UNITA destroyed as a party. For that reason we have taken the initiative to set up the meeting that is taking place in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations. It is our sincere desire that the war should end, to give way to democracy and reconciliation between all Angolans, to the reconstruction of a country where everyone can find happiness.

(Mr. de Moura, Angola)

I sincerely hope that the example of Angola, both in its positive and its negative aspects, may favourably serve the efforts towards democracy and peace that are being led, around the world, by the United Nations, so that tolerance, respect for democratic rule and economic and social development of peoples can finally occur without groundless controversy.

Finally, I am optimistic and hopeful that the Council's deliberations on UNAVEM II will be restricted to option A, as set out in the report of the Secretary-General (S/25140 and Add.1), because by making that choice the Council will be treating with fairness and justice a Member State that has been fully recognized by our Organization. The Angolan people and its elected Government need the support and understanding of the international community. The current Government of Angola deserves the Council's support and its justice, and cannot be treated on the same level as an armed military party. The Angolan Government is a legitimate Government, the result of democratic elections endorsed by the international community and by the United Nations.

The Security Council is the guarantor of peace, and cannot renounce its responsibilities: wherever peace is threatened, the Council must act. And that is why we are asking the Council to allow UNAVEM to stay in Angola and work with the legal institutions in place there with the prospect of there being progress in the talks that are taking place at this moment in Addis Ababa.

My Government and, in particular, President José Eduardo dos Santos, have highly appreciated the efforts of the Security Council in respect of its responsibility to guarantee peace and security world wide and its contribution to re-establishing peace in Angola in the context of the strict observance of the Bicesse Accords. Let us therefore ready ourselves to carry out the Peace Accords in Angola with success and for the prestige of the United Nations.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil): I wish to thank you, Sir, for the warm words of welcome you addressed at a previous meeting to Brazil and to the other new members of the Security Council. It is also with great pleasure that I express our recognition of the most able manner in which you have been discharging your high duties as President of the Council.

The situation in Angola is one that gives rise to deep concern in Brazil. The Brazilian Government has viewed with alarm the deterioration of the situation in Angola over the last four months or so. The incidents that have taken place during this period have engendered an extremely complex and delicate situation that involves very serious dangers both to Angola and to international peace and security.

The statement just made by the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, which added to the very troubling picture presented in the report of the Secretary-General, eloquently described circumstances that call for our very best attention as well as for strong action by the Security Council.

I would like to convey through Mr. Venâncio de Moura our appreciation to the Government of Angola for its efforts to work with the United Nations, and with the Security Council in particular, with a view to achieving the resumption of the peace process and the consolidation of democracy in Angola, a South Atlantic country to which Brazil has historically been linked by particularly close ties of friendship, good understanding and fruitful cooperation.

Brazil has always favoured a democratic solution to the problems in Angola, and we have always lent our support to efforts undertaken to that end.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

It is indeed to be regretted that the long-suffering people of Angola should still have to cope with the prolonged hardship of conflict and destruction, even now when the overall context of international relations, which in earlier times had such a negative impact on the Angolan situation, is supposed to have become more conducive to overcoming conflict situations.

There is no time to be wasted in ensuring conditions in which the Government and the people of Angola can move beyond the tragedy of war and be able to set a steady course towards the realization of all their potential within the framework of democratic institutions. In few places will the expression "peace dividend" have a more tangible meaning than in Angola.

The humanitarian situation in the country is a cause for serious concern. In many areas, as indicated by the Secretary-General, it verges on the catastrophic. Recent incidents of fighting have included several instances of unacceptable attacks and harassment of United Nations personnel and of foreign nationals, as well as damage to local and foreign companies.

It is particularly regrettable that a peace process that is exemplary inasmuch as it is based on a commitment to democratic multi-party elections should be allowed to stray as a result of the use of force, in utter disrespect for the freely expressed will of the people of Angola.

Reports of possible interference by outside forces cannot but cause the gravest concern. For the peace process to be brought to fruition, it is absolutely essential at every stage not only that all States refrain from any act that might pose an obstacle to peace but also that every State make sure that no such activity emanates, in whatever form, from its territory.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

The disruption of the peace process which ensued as a result of the violation of the "Acordos de Paz", in particular the rejection by UNITA of the results of elections that were certified by the United Nations as generally free and fair, has already led to a heavy toll in casualties, including civilian casualties, and in extensive damage to Angola's economy. As stated in the draft resolution to be considered today, the Council can only condemn strongly such violations of the peace agreements. In particular, the implementation of the cease-fire throughout the country is of the utmost urgency.

The recent military operations by UNITA in the town of Soyo have added new elements of concern, as they involved attacks against oil-field facilities, which can be particularly harmful to the economy and which could have a considerable adverse impact on the environment of the South Atlantic region.

The Security Council has already taken a number of important decisions regarding the situation in Angola with a view to putting the peace process back on track on the basis of respect for the "Acordos de Paz". It is essential at the present juncture that the United Nations continue to work in that direction. The "Acordos de Paz" provide the cornerstone for the whole structure of peace in Angola. They must be preserved and fulfilled without exception.

The Council has strongly condemned the resumption of hostilities in Angola, and it has demanded that such hostilities cease. It has stated clearly that the results of the use of force will not be accepted.

The Council has called upon the parties to the "Acordos de Paz" to abide by all the commitments entered into under the agreements. The Council has

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

furthermore urged the Government and UNITA to engage in a dialogue to enable the second round of presidential elections to be held, and has made it clear that it will hold responsible any party which refuses to take part in such a dialogue.

My delegation welcomes the most recent news from Addis Ababa, which would seem to indicate that a meaningful dialogue has been resumed and that the cease-fire could soon be reinstated. It is essential that this first step be followed up with additional significant measures as a matter of urgency.

The Council has furthermore undertaken to consider all appropriate measures under the United Nations Charter to secure implementation of the peace agreements.

It is appropriate that in the present circumstances we reaffirm these previous statements, which retain their full validity.

It is essential for the Council to be able once again to take a clear stand and to send a strong message. In particular, the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), as requested by the Government of Angola, is an important element to that end.

Brazil favours a strong presence and involvement by the United Nations in supporting the peace process and democracy in Angola. In our view, that involvement has to be translated into a continued strong presence on the ground.

Recent events, such as those which prompted the request for this meeting of the Council, have underscored the importance of a strong United Nations presence in Angola. UNAVEM II has to be adequately staffed and equipped for the physical dimensions of the country and for its complex political problems.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Brazil is seriously concerned about the safety of UNAVEM II personnel. Brazilian military and police observers are among those who are suffering the harsh conditions on the ground. Last November, I regret to note, one of our police observers, Sergeant Adilson Barbosa da Costa, lost his life in the exercise of his duties within UNAVEM II. It is appropriate for the Council to make a strong statement on the question of the security of UNAVEM II personnel, and, as a member of the Council, Brazil will be considering all necessary measures to deal effectively with this most serious problem.

The draft resolution before us, while making allowance for possible adjustments of UNAVEM II deployment that may be advisable for safety reasons, provides for the United Nations personnel and equipment to be ready to resume the full implementation of their mandate as soon as circumstances allow. In our view, that readiness is of fundamental importance to ensure the necessary leverage for the work of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and for the United Nations to be able to continue to play its crucial role in supporting the peace process.

We believe that what the United Nations does or fails to do in Angola will no doubt be interpreted by the people of that country - and by people in other countries as well, in southern Africa and elsewhere, including countries whose situation is or may come under the scrutiny of this Council - as a measure of the willingness of this Organization to uphold democratic values and of its resolve in promoting the principle that conflicts must be settled peacefully and that the use of force must never be rewarded. Brazil will continue to work on the basis of those values and principles.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Brazil for his kind words addressed to me.

The meeting was suspended at 1.05 p.m. and resumed at 3.50 p.m.

Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde): I would like to express my congratulations to you, Mr. President, for the active and productive manner in which you have conducted the Council's work during this month. My congratulations also go to your predecessor, Mr. Gharekhan of India, for the successful conduct of the Council's work last month.

My country has been following the recent events in Angola with concern. The outbreak of violence has raised, once again, the prospects of a protracted conflict that would further damage the country, increase the suffering of the Angolan people and, in the end, benefit no one.

We believe there is no alternative to peace and dialogue in Angola. In this context we are very pleased with news of progress made in the Addis Ababa meeting. We urge the parties involved to continue their dialogue in the interest of the nation.

The peace process must continue. The entire world, and this Council as well, have supported the peace process in Angola and backed the full implementation of the Bicesse Accords. We believe that these Accords are the framework for a lasting peaceful solution to the Angolan conflict. The disruption of this process should be corrected immediately and the implementation of the Bicesse Accords fully restored so as to create conditions conducive to the completion of the presidential elections. We note with satisfaction that steps have been taken to form a Government of National Unity. We commend and encourage such steps, for we believe that they militate in favour of national harmony and stability in the country.

My delegation has been following with concern the recent reports of military or paramilitary interference in the conflict in Angola by outside

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

forces. Any foreign military interference must stop immediately, for it only aggravates further the situation and sets back the peace process. All those who, directly or indirectly, assist in, allow or consent to military or paramilitary interference in the Angolan conflict should be persuaded by the Council to terminate their activities. The Angolans need encouragement to pursue dialogue, not fuel to prolong the war.

We believe that UNAVEM II has been an important factor in preventing a major deterioration of the situation in Angola. UNAVEM continues to have an important role to play in the peace process in Angola. We are of the view that, however frustrated we might be by the lack of progress, the United Nations should steadily continue to assist the Angolans to achieve lasting peace at this crucial moment of their history. In this context we hope to see a strengthened UNAVEM as soon as the situation so warrants. We commend the efforts and commitment of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee. Her dedication and courage, together with the invaluable contribution of her staff, has made of UNAVEM an indispensable United Nations presence in the peace process in Angola. The extremely difficult environment in which they have been operating lately makes their contribution all the more commendable.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cape Verde for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand): Thank you, Mr. President, for your welcome earlier to New Zealand as a new member of the Council. We are indeed fortunate, Sir, to take our place at this table under your wise chairmanship, and we salute you.

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

New Zealand deplores the renewed hostilities in Angola. The tragic loss of lives that is occurring is unnecessary and unacceptable. We join with the other members of the Council therefore and with the rest of the international community to urge the parties involved to effect an immediate cease-fire and to pursue peaceful political dialogue.

Democratic elections took place in Angola in September 1992. Those elections were declared to have been free and fair by a representative of the Organization. It is not acceptable that UNITA should reject the results of those elections. New Zealand believes that it is vital for the restoration of peace and further political progress in Angola that UNITA abide by the election results and participate positively in the institutions that have been established as a consequence of the elections.

The draft resolution before the Council makes very clear that, while the regrettable situation in Angola necessitates a redeployment of United Nations forces - UNAVEM II - to Luanda and possibly to a limited number of other provincial centres, this is a temporary adjustment that can in no way be interpreted as a lessening of the United Nations commitment to Angola. For its part, New Zealand has already indicated to the Secretary-General its willingness to consider further commitments to UNAVEM II upon the renewal of the mandate. New Zealand thus fully supports the endeavours of the Organization towards achieving the rapid and complete fulfilment of the Bicesse Accords.

New Zealand will vote for this draft resolution. We believe it sends a clear message to the protagonists in the fighting that they must stop immediately. Just as important, it reaffirms to the great majority of Angolans who are desperate for peace in their country that the rest of the world is concerned to assist the process towards peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of New Zealand for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. OLHAYE (Djibouti): Let me at the outset, Sir, join, on behalf of my delegation, those who have complimented you on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Your sound leadership qualities and fortitude under intense pressure have been in evidence during this time.

Let me also express our admiration and respect to your predecessor, Ambassador Gharekhan of India, to whom we wish every success in his new undertaking.

It was on 31 May 1991 in Lisbon that the Government of Angola and the leadership of UNITA formally signed a historic peace accord to end 16 years of gruesome and destructive civil war. Taken together with the preceding 14 years of guerrilla wars against Portugese rule, the pact in effect put an end to 30 years of bloodshed that killed and maimed hundreds of thousands of people and ruined the economy of an otherwise potentially rich country.

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

This happy ending of a sordid saga of one of Africa's longest enduring wars and East-West rivalry on the continent was, however, greeted with a mixture of joy and scepticism, given the brutal impact of the war in general, and the deep-rooted bitterness and mutual mistrust of the sides in particular. Everyone involved in those long and complicated negotiations never underestimated the tenuousness of the cease-fire, as well as the awesome task of successfully managing the period of transition to democratic rule.

Hence we saw the creation of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), an expression of the international community's complete commitment to the peace process in Angola. The United Nations Mission in Angola, under the able leadership of Margaret Anstee, has played a key role in ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to it by this Council, within the bounds of possibility, in the light of the inherent and inescapable constraints - shortage of time and inadequate resources and authority.

The meeting of the Council today is therefore deemed very crucial to consider the comprehensive and timely report of the Secretary-General on Angola, for which we are indeed grateful. We deeply share the legitimate concerns expressed by the Secretary-General over the intense and ever escalating fighting that now embraces all parts of Angola following the rejection of the election results of last September by UNITA, which then resorted to fighting. As one eyewitness has put it, "It was never bad as this, even at the height of the cold war."

The situation is further complicated by the unprecedented political assassinations, which can only further deepen Angola's agony. Let us be frank - this is not a war that either side can win in this way, and it is bound to be long and costly unless both parties heed the call of the

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

international community to cease fighting immediately. In this respect, we put our faith in the delegations' in Addis Ababa negotiating a framework to this end, trusting that they will not fail in their efforts to succeed in order to carry the country out of the present grave predicament.

We are indeed highly disturbed by the involvement of foreign forces in Angola, in total violation of the inviolability of Angola's borders, national integrity and sovereignty. The alleged interference can only perpetuate the misery and destabilization of a nation that has already had enough share of its own misfortunes. We strongly warn those who are easily tempted to plunge into Angola's internal civil war that there is no substitute for good-neighbourliness. We view with the gravest concern UNITA's relentless push towards sensitive national economic outlets. Any harm inflicted upon such vital infrastructures cannot but be treated as unwarranted and deliberate sabotage punishable under law.

The country is, as we all know now, slowly sliding into anarchy and violence, reminiscent of Somalia's irretrievable mayhem and tragedy, which will undoubtedly for ever remain a scar on humanity. We sincerely believe the international community has seen something in Somalia which is not altogether impossible in Angola. We can scarcely afford to be seen as washing our hands of or abandoning Angola at this juncture in its tragedy. We are heartened, however, by the spirit of goodwill and commitment demonstrated by the Council during the negotiations of the draft resolution we are about to adopt, and we have every reason to believe that the Secretary-General, in the light of the ongoing talks in Addis Ababa, will not only seize the opportunity to apply intense pressure to bring about an early cessation of hostilities, but may also, in due course, reflect upon the possibility of remodelling the existing

(Mr. Olhaye, Djibouti)

mandate into a peace-keeping option, given the enormous mistrust that may continue to persist even if agreements are reached.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Djibouti for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation would like first to welcome to this meeting of the Security Council the Minister of External Relations of the Republic of Angola, Mr. de Moura. His participation will certainly be conducive to progress towards finding a political settlement to the Angolan crisis.

The Russian delegation is deeply concerned about the large-scale hostilities that have broken out in Angola, hostilities that have already led to many casualties and have jeopardized the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a political settlement in the country. We know that the root cause was the failure by the leadership of UNITA to recognize the results of the September 1992 general elections, held under United Nations supervision, its refusal to participate in the normal political process and its resumption of hostilities, clearly intended to seize power by force. These actions by UNITA and its policy to divide the country deserve vigorous condemnation. The Security Council should reaffirm its strong commitment to the maintenance of Angola's unity and territorial integrity.

The Russian delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's proposal to concentrate United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) personnel in Luanda, since that will make it possible to guarantee their safety, given the continuing hostilities in the country. But we believe that a sizeable United Nations presence in the country would make it possible, by stabilizing

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

the situation, to bring about a speedy resumption of the activities of UNAVEM II in discharging its functions under the Peace Accords and the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

The Russian delegation believes the Security Council should call upon all sides immediately to cease fire and, having resumed constructive dialogue, to agree to a precise timetable for the complete implementation of the provisions of the Peace Accords, in particular with regard to confinement of troops, the collection of weapons, demobilization, the formation of unified national armed forces and effective restoration of central authority throughout the country.

UNITA should give the international community convincing proof of its willingness to resume dialogue to bring about speedy agreement to a precise timetable for complying with the terms of the Peace Accords. We hope that the meeting that has started in Addis Ababa at the military and political levels under the aegis of the United Nations will help promote agreements between the parties with regard to complete fulfilment of the Lisbon Accords.

It is extremely important that all States immediately stop any military or paramilitary interference in support of hostilities in Angola and that they scrupulously respect the provisions of the Peace Accords concerning the cessation of the supply of lethal material to parties to the conflict. It is quite clear that the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual trust and cooperation between the Republic of Angola and neighbouring States would be conducive to success in the peace process.

Russia, as one of the three observer countries of the Peace Accords on Angola, has throughout the process of the settlement provided, as it continues to provide, every support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

Special Representative to bring about a resumption of that process and effective implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Angola. Russia is prepared to continue to give active support to the efforts of the international community and the Security Council seeking to bring about a speedy normalization of the situation in Angola and the peaceful democratic development of that country.

We shall vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Russian Federation for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): First of all, please allow me to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of January. With your remarkable talents and rich diplomatic experience, you have successfully guided the work of the Council for this month. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Gharekhan, Ambassador of India, whose outstanding performance made a deep impression on us.

On behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would hereby like to welcome the Angolan Minister of External Relations, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, and thank him for briefing the Security Council on the latest developments in the situation in Angola.

In order to bring the conflict in Angola to an early end and bring about national reconciliation and peace, the Secretary-General and the international community have made tremendous efforts, which have resulted in important progress towards a political solution to the Angolan question. However, the recent rapid deterioration of the situation and the recurrence of conflagrations of war in Angola are obstructing the peace process, resulting in heavy losses of civilian lives and property, creating enormous difficulties for the work of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), and putting the safety of United Nations personnel in serious jeopardy. The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned and disturbed at such a development.

At present, the situation in Angola is complex and complicated, and the peace process is at a critical stage. In our view, the current pressing task for the international community and the United Nations is to make every effort to prevent the conflict from escalating, the war from spreading and the

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

situation from further deteriorating so as to ensure peace and stability in the region. We therefore support the Angolan Government's principled position that no outside forces be involved in the conflict in Angola, and urge all countries to act in accordance with the relevant Security Council resolutions and desist from taking any action that could lead to increased tension and complicate the situation in Angola.

In the meantime, we maintain that the question of Angola should be settled eventually by the Angolan people themselves. Mediation and other kinds of efforts made by the international community should contribute to creating conditions favourable to this goal. We call on both parties to the conflict in Angola to immediately fulfil their commitments in accordance with the Peace Accords by ceasing all hostilities and seeking solutions through dialogue and negotiation, so that the hard-won peace process can be sustained and peace can eventually be achieved. We also call on both parties to the conflict to adopt all necessary measures to cooperate with UNAVEM II and to ensure the safety of United Nations personnel.

Although the peace process in Angola has encountered a temporary setback, the United Nations and the international community should not stop working towards a political solution to the Angolan question. The Chinese delegation holds that the Security Council should take immediate action to support the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in continuing their positive efforts to dispel animosity between the two parties and to bring them to dialogue through their good offices.

We are therefore in favour of the continued stationing of UNAVEM II in Angola to help resume the implementation of the Peace Accords as soon as possible. In view of the above, the Chinese delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution before us.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of China for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. MARKER (Pakistan): As my delegation is taking the floor for the first time in a formal meeting of the Security Council since our election to this body, allow me, Sir, to express my delegation's thanks for your warm words of welcome addressed to Pakistan at the last formal meeting of the Council and also my delegation's appreciation and admiration for the wisdom and dedication with which you have been conducting the work of the Council during these difficult and eventful days. Your consummate diplomatic skills have been of invaluable benefit to the work of the Council.

The United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council are increasingly being called upon to respond to situations that constitute a threat to international or regional peace and security. Not only are we called upon to address long-standing disputes, but we are also obliged to meet new and unprecedented challenges which confront us in an unforeseen fashion, despite the fact that we now live in a changed international environment, one that is basically characterized by cooperation and a renewed confidence in the United Nations.

I take this opportunity to assure the Security Council that Pakistan, as a Member of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, will work with its Members in promoting the cause of peace in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, to which we all are committed. We fully subscribe to the view that the United Nations capacity in the areas of preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building needs to be fully developed and utilized for the common benefit of all mankind.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

The situation in Angola has been of particular concern to Pakistan. In our expectation for peace, we rejoiced when "Acordos de Paz para Angola" were signed in May 1991. In September 1992, when the people of Angola went to the polls, we felt that the peace that had thus far eluded them was finally within their reach. We hoped that the results of the elections, certified as free and fair by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, would usher in an era of cooperation and harmony in Angola. Unfortunately, however, the results of the elections were not accepted by UNITA. It chose to attack and occupy by force some provincial towms and municipalities, thus jeopardizing the fragile peace process.

The high-level meeting between the Government of Angola and UNITA, held on 26 November 1992, and the issuance of a Joint Declaration reaffirming the adherence of both parties to the Peace Accords was very encouraging, but the dialogue, unfortunately, was short-lived. The renewed fighting between the Government and UNITA severely limited the relevance and the mediating role of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) and threatened the lives of its personnel. It was tragic that one police monitor, a Brazilian police officer, lost his life in the performance of his duty, and we convey our sincere condolences to his bereaved family and companions. Unfortunately, UNAVEM II was compelled to withdraw from more than 45 locations, and losses in terms of equipment are estimated at a staggering $5.2 million.

We welcome the meeting between the Government and UNITA, held in Addis Ababa yesterday under United Nations auspices, to discuss the cease-fire and other political matters. However, we are deeply disturbed by the latest reports indicating an intensification in the fighting. We call upon all

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

parties to immediately give up the path of violence, resolve to settle their differences through dialogue and allow the peace process to proceed unhindered.

My delegation supports the renewal of the mandate of UNAVEM II because of our belief that the United Nations has a major role to play in bringing the two sides together, in helping them to reach an agreement and in supporting the implementation of the peace arrangements. It is our hope that appropriate conditions will be created in Angola to allow UNAVEM II to discharge its responsibility in full in accordance with its mandate.

Angola has suffered for far too long. It is time that the Government and the people of that country get an opportunity to concentrate on nation-building and reconstruction. Towards that end, the United Nations has a major contribution to make, and it should not absolve itself of that responsibility.

(Mr. Marker, Pakistan)

Pakistan supports the laudable efforts being made by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Miss Margaret Anstee. We commend the Secretary-General for preparing the excellent, realistic and thought-provoking report on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission. We also salute the members of the Mission for working under extremely difficult and dangerous circumstances. It is our hope that with the adoption of the draft resolution before us, the peace process in Angola will be set firmly in the desired direction.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Pakistan for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): My delegation wishes to thank you, Mr. President, for your leadership, and also to express appreciation to Ambassador Gharekhan for his leadership during December.

The United States strongly condemns the return to violence in Angola. The use of force has indeed undermined the historic accomplishments of the Angolan people in last year's elections and prolonged the violent agony of Angola and its citizens. The Government and UNITA are, more than ever, together responsible for choosing whether to seek a peaceful solution or to subject the Angolan people to continued warfare.

We are encouraged by the discussions in Addis Ababa between representatives of UNITA and the Government, and we strongly urge both parties to establish a regular dialogue. Special Representative Anstee deserves particular commendation for her tireless efforts to bring about this important step towards national reconciliation.

The United States will continue to support fully the essential role of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) as a mutually

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

respected and impartial arbiter in Angola. Miss Anstee and members of UNAVEM II have performed this role admirably, often under difficult and hostile conditions. Unfortunately, deteriorating security has increasingly limited the ability of UNAVEM II to travel through and monitor outlying areas.

The United States supports the draft resolution before the Council and believes it accurately reflects the situation in Angola, clearly outlines the steps the warring parties must take and provides the United Nations with the authority and flexibility to fulfil its responsibilities. It is particularly appropriate for the Secretary-General to adapt the size and scope of UNAVEM II operations to existing political and security conditions.

In supporting this draft resolution, however, we note that the Secretary-General, UNAVEM II and concerned nations cannot impose peace where the will for peace does not exist. Lasting peace will be possible only when all Angolans, particularly the responsible leadership of the parties to the Bicesse Accords, reject the pursuit of power through violence.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States of America for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): I should like first to convey to you, Mr. President, the compliments of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for January and also to extend our compliments to Ambassador Gharekhan, who presided over the work of the Council in December.

The French Government has followed with growing concern the development of events in Angola in recent months. Although the country, with the assistance of the United Nations, was on the path to national reconciliation and the establishment of democracy, all the gains of the peace process now

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

seem to be cast into doubt by this resumption of hostilities. Armed confrontations, which have gradually spread to many regions, have added to the loss of life and property resulting from so many years of war and have jeopardized Angola's recovery. Furthermore, they have in many cases exposed UNAVEM II personnel to serious danger.

The French Government therefore associates itself with the Council's appeal to the parties concerned to cease fighting immediately and resume their dialogue. It welcomes, in this respect, the opening of negotiations in Addis Ababa between the Angolan Government and UNITA. We hope that these negotiations will lead swiftly to a cessation of hostilities and will open the way to continued implementation of the Peace Accords and, in particular, the completion of the electoral process. It is therefore important for all parties, in particular UNITA, to accept the results of the free and fair elections held last September.

At a time when Angola is going through such difficulties, it is important for the international community to remain at its side to help it overcome its trials. This means, of course, that any outside interference in the conflict must stop immediately. It also means, in the view of my delegation, that the United Nations should continue to lend all possible assistance to efforts to restore peace and implement the accords concluded between the parties. In this spirit, my delegation gives its full support to the draft resolution before us. While authorizing the Secretary-General to take steps necessary for the protection of UNAVEM II personnel, including a temporary redeployment of the operation, this draft resolution allows for the possibility of its speedily resuming its mission when conditions allow. It also expresses the willingness of the Council to strengthen the United Nations presence in Angola should there be any significant progress in the peace process.

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

My Government sincerely hopes that this will happen in the near future. As the text before us recalls, it is primarily up to the Angolans themselves to restore peace and promote national reconciliation in their country. We hope that the parties will show the spirit of responsibility and cooperation that is necessary to attain this goal.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): First I offer you, Mr. President, congratulations on your tenure of the presidency, which has certainly been a busy and demanding one. We have greatly appreciated the way you have acquitted yourself during this period, as we did the way Ambassador Gharekhan, your predecessor, did during the month of December.

The view of my delegation and my Government is that it is crucial that the United Nations remain actively engaged in Angola while there is any prospect of achieving a peaceful solution. The emphasis now will, of course, be on the diplomatic role of the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Representative rather than on the earlier functions of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), which have so tragically proved incapable of being fulfilled. We agree that until the diplomatic route - the negotiating route - produces results, the Council has to give a great deal of weight to the issue of the security of UNAVEM II personnel and their ability actually to do their work on the ground.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The view of my delegation is very clear: the present tragic situation is a direct result of UNITA's repudiation of the result of the election of 29 and 30 September. A matter of gravest concern has been that UNITA is now attempting to take control of a country's main economic resources, and to win by force what was denied to them at the ballot box in elections that were declared by the representative of the United Nations as generally free and fair.

We are of course deeply disturbed by reports that UNITA is now taking foreign prisoners, and these include three of my countrymen who are being held in Soyo. This is a totally unacceptable practice; all such prisoners must be released immediately.

A further sad aspect to the situation in Angola is the deterioration, of a general kind, in human rights. The indiscriminate killing of civilians simply has to stop.

The priority now is for dialogue between the Government and UNITA, to restore the cease-fire and to prepare for the resumption of the peace process on the basis of the Bicesse Accords and in the light of the September elections. It is really essential that both parties approach the talks in Addis Ababa in good faith: this is an opportunity that must not be lost.

The international community wants, before all else, to see an end to war in Angola and the reconstruction of the country. There is an immense amount of potential assistance ready to be offered, but help can be given only if the two sides in the present conflict themselves create the right conditions. That is their responsibility. Only they can give the Angolan people the peace and the prosperity they so desperately need and deserve.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time that my delegation has spoken during a formal meeting of the Security Council in January - having recently assumed our mandate in the Council - we should like to take this opportunity to congratulate you very warmly on the very effective manner in which you are conducting our proceedings during a period in which we are dealing with serious problems to which the Council must respond decisively and promptly.

Today we are meeting to deal with the request of the the President of Angola, Mr. José Eduardo dos Santos, in connection with the serious situation facing his country, and, at the same time, to renew the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). Here we must stress that present among us is the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, whose statement we heard this morning and whose comments we have carefully noted.

The Secretary-General presented a new report on UNAVEM II. In it, with commendable clarity, the Secretary-General analysed the most recent events in that country and proposed ways for our Organization to act to establish a lasting cease-fire agreement that would make it possible for the political dialogue between the Government of Angola and UNITA to resume.

The Spanish Government, which right from the start has supported the peace process in Angola, has been following with great concern the deterioration in the situation following the holding - in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Accords - of the first democratic elections in that country, at the end of September last year. The results were rejected by UNITA, despite the fact that the elections had been declared as generally free

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

and fair by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, and by the Security Council itself in its resolution 785 (1992) of 30 October last.

At that point, and despite the mediation of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission and the efforts of the Council itself, the situation entered into a stage of confrontation followed by military escalation that may have been made worse if there has indeed been intervention by foreign forces in support of UNITA, as has been repeatedly claimed by the Angolan Government.

In the circumstances, the Security Council must assume its responsibilities in a decisive and a realistic manner. We therefore urge all States that may be intervening, directly or indirectly, in the Angolan conflict to refrain forthwith from this kind of activity and to exercise strict control over their territories and boundaries in order to prevent paramilitary elements from operating. It is important to bear in mind that, in addition to the future of Angola, what is at stake is the stability of the whole southern African region.

We must also urge the Government of Angola and UNITA to agree, as soon as possible, to a lasting cease-fire that will make it possible for the political dialogue to resume.

There is no doubt that UNITA has been mainly responsible for derailing the peace process. In any event, both the Government and UNITA must demonstrate the highest degree of flexibility and be as constructive as possible in their approaches so that they can resume the negotiations to bring peace and democracy to a country that has been suffering the scourge of war for over 15 years. The people of Angola have already suffered too much; they must not be subjected to yet more death, destruction and deprivation.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

The talks now going on in Addis Ababa are a source of hope. We hope that the statements made here today and the resolution that we will be adopting will transmit a vigorous message to the negotiators meeting in the Ethiopian capital that will contribute to the success of their efforts, with the support of the United Nations.

The European Community and its member States issued a declaration on 22 January stressing that the United Nations must continue to play a key role in re-establishing and maintaining peace in Angola. I need hardly say that my Government fully endorses this declaration, and I should like to take advantage of this opportunity to pay a tribute to all the personnel of UNAVEM II and to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, for the important role that they are playing in Angola in extremely difficult circumstances where even their personal safety is frequently jeopardized.

The Government of Angola and UNITA must immediately use all the means at their disposal to prevent further occurrences of incidents where UNAVEM personnel are harassed and their equipment looted.

The functions being discharged by UNAVEM II at the present time, although they do differ from those in its original mandate, are a vital factor in the peacemaking process. However, the situation in the field has obliged the Secretary-General to take action concerning the way UNAVEM is deployed and to recommend that, until the situation permits otherwise, its personnel should be concentrated in areas of lesser risk and that their numbers should be reduced.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

We agree with the view that the Security Council should endorse the recommendations made by the Secretary-General in his report on the understanding that, as soon as possible, UNAVEM II will once again be deployed with the necessary swiftness and in the necessary numbers, depending on how the situation develops.

In this spirit, my delegation will support the draft resolution contained in document S/25187.

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

In conclusion, I wish on behalf of my Government to express our earnest wish that the hopes aroused by the Addis Ababa meeting will be fulfilled. While underscoring the international community's determination to continue vigorously to support the end of the Angola conflict, we must once again recall that only determined action by the Angolan Government and the leaders of UNITA will make it possible to achieve peace.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Spain for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ERDOS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): As your term as Council President comes to an end, Sir, let me thank you for your hard, meaningful work throughout the month of January. I want also to say how grateful we are to your predecessor, Ambassador Gharekhan of India.

The draft resolution on Angola before the Council today is seen against the backdrop of events that mark a sad and bloody stage in the international community's ongoing efforts to halt the civil war in that ravaged country and to put in place a peace process. Like other members of the Council, I am sure, Hungary would have preferred to avoid such a draft resolution. But unfortunately the situation in Angola has left us no alternative but to adapt for the nonce to the facts on the ground. We deplore the fact that these continue to worsen. The result of this is that observers of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) have too often become powerless observers - even victims - of the conflicts, armed confrontations and violations of cease-fire agreements that have taken place in various parts of the country.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

We believe that in Angola - as in another tragic conflict, which is ravaging a region adjacent to Hungary - it is no great task to name the party that bears primary responsibility for the present situation. The promising scenario for the establishment of democracy in Angola, which enjoyed broad international support, has been hobbled by one of the signatories to the Peace Accords; through its signature, that party assumed a political responsibility in the great endeavour of restoring peace and building a democratic system in Angola. UNITA was unable to accept the verdict of the people, and its leaders failed in the joint national and international efforts to establish democratic institutions in Angola by refusing to admit that an election can have but one winner.

At the same time, we must recall that through its participation in the September elections the Angolan people showed its determination and ability to support the political process and to seize the new possibilities for democratic development. We are sure that its wish to take action, demonstrated so eloquently so recently, should not be limited to a single election; it should enable the Angolan people to overcome as soon as possible the adverse effects of the tragic events of recent months. We hope all Angolans will be able to take advantage of the resumed dialogue, return to the process undertaken under the Peace Accords and bring it to a successful conclusion. After nearly two decades of fratricidal war we cannot permit the future of Angola once again to be decided on the battlefield.

The draft resolution on which the Council will take action clearly reflects the international community's determination, despite the difficulties, not to be diverted from the question of Angola but rather to

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

remain ready to promote the process of a peaceful settlement of the problems confronting all Angolans. Likewise, the draft resolution before the Council sends them the message that it is their responsibility to restore peaceful conditions and to bring about national reconciliation in their country. If that is lacking, a continued United Nations presence and international assistance cannot attain the goals to which the entire Angolan people aspires.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Hungary for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. ARRIA (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): My delegation is particularly pleased, Sir, to see you presiding over the work of the Council. We join other delegations in their admiration for the way in which you have guided our deliberations during this very difficult period marked by great upheavals.

The Security Council is meeting today at the urgent request of the President of Angola, whose Minister of External Relations has put before us facts that mesh with the views of the members of the Security Council and with the spirit and letter of the draft resolution on which we shall soon take action. My delegation thanks Mr. de Moura for the measured, realistic and open-minded tone of his statement; this reflects the very democratization that today is in such jeopardy in Angola.

The delegation of Venezuela fully supports a Security Council decision to renew the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) for a period of three months as a manifestation of our solidarity and concern with respect to the conflict in Angola and of our determination to put an end to that conflict. We consider that the United Nations presence in

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

Angola can, through its prestige and impartiality, encourage the parties to return to the path of peace and democratization.

We convey our very special appreciation to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Miss Anstee, for her very hard work.

As the Secretary-General says in his report (S/25140), the outbreak of widespread violence and hostilities has set Angola back to a situation of civil war even worse than that which obtained before the signing of the Peace Accords. This has resulted in the collapse of public services and has prevented the exercise of power by the authorities chosen in free and impartial elections. Similarly, the spread of violence has greatly complicated the humanitarian situation, increasing the number of displaced persons within Angola and creating a catastrophic situation where the ability to provide assistance has been severely reduced.

The situation is serious enough already, but we must add to it the complaint formally made today by Mr. de Moura that other countries are intervening in the conflict by providing weapons and other equipment. This is intolerable, and the Council has the obligation to investigate the charges and take appropriate action.

(Mr. Arria, Venezuela)

It is obvious that only the Angolans will in the end be able to impose peace and initiate a productive process of national reconciliation, development and prosperity. If not, they will continue to make their people suffer even more and further jeopardize the possibility of a better future in which the great potential wealth of the country can be developed.

The leaders of UNITA must clearly understand that national unity and the total liberation of Angola can be achieved only as part of a process of peace and reconciliation - with votes, not with bullets. UNITA cannot continue to bury the only process capable of honouring its own name: National Unity for the Total Liberation of Angola. The second round of elections is still pending. UNITA has an opportunity to correct its errors and earn the international community's gratitude.

Finally, my delegation believes that universal diplomatic recognition of the Government of Angola at the present time would strengthen and considerably support the draft resolution before us today.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Venezuela for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. SNOUSSI (Morocco) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all to say that we will retain a strong impression of the effectiveness, strength and friendliness with which you, Sir, have conducted our debates this month. I should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, who guided the Council with his great wisdom and inimitable wit.

Firstly, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative, Miss Anstee, for their tireless efforts to persuade the parties in Angola to resume dialogue and complete the peace process. We would like warmly to congratulate the entire personnel of UNAVEM II, which

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

continues to discharge its responsibilities with devotion and courage despite the serious deterioration of the safety conditions. Along with my colleagues from the United States, Cape Verde and the Russian Federation, I had the pleasure of seeing the United Nations personnel at work. Their sang-froid and sense of duty truly deserve our admiration.

Since our visit, the situation in Angola has seriously deteriorated and unfortunately the fighting has intensified. According to the Secretary-General's report, all the disastrous consequences of this, particularly from the humanitarian point of view, are being relentlessly repeated. United Nations efforts and the promises of the parties to stop fighting and resume dialogue have only recently been successful. Morocco has always actively supported the peace efforts and wishes to add its voice to all those who have called upon the parties to cease fighting and to resume negotiations to complete the implementation of the peace process.

The safety conditions in which the members of UNAVEM II have been serving in the noble task assisting the parties in implementing the Peace Accords for Angola are very distressing. We are convinced that the accomplishment of their mission will only be possible with the cooperation of all concerned and respect for the privileges and immunities of the personnel concerned. We call upon the parties to cooperate fully and to discharge their obligations in this respect.

At a time when the situation in Angola is worsening, the United Nations and the international community must step up their efforts to guarantee a cessation of hostilities and to ensure that the parties resume dialogue. The Angolan people aspire to peace and the international community has a responsibility to encourage them in this path.

(Mr. Snoussi, Morocco)

For our part, we will do everything possible so that that people and country, which are dear to us, can once again find the unity, peace and prosperity to which they have always aspired. We hope that the talks begun in Addis Ababa among the parties will finally lead to a true cease-fire and compliance with the political and military accords.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Morocco for his kind words addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Japan.

Japan is deeply frustrated by the recent outbreak of heavy fighting in Angola. That the situation in that country continues to deteriorate is particularly disheartening in view of the fact that democratic elections were held there only last September. Angola is now at a critical crossroads: it can return to civil war or continue on the road to peace and democracy. My delegation urges the Government of Angola and UNITA to exercise the utmost restraint and not allow mistrust and hatred to determine the fate of their country.

The fact that the two parties have started their talks in Addis Ababa is welcome and encouraging. Japan strongly hopes that the meeting will succeed in at least producing an immediate cease-fire throughout the country. In order to develop a measure of confidence between the Government and UNITA, it is essential that they each demonstrate flexibility in their efforts to reach an agreement to end the hostilities. This is an essential first step towards restoring peace. We hope that the meeting between President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, will follow in the very near future.

(The President)

Japan will join other members of the Council in its decision to extend the mandate of UNAVEM II for three months, in the earnest hope that the two parties will in the meantime agree on a clear timetable for the full implementation of the "Acordos de Paz". That agreement will enable the Council to expand substantially the United Nations presence in Angola in order to prepare for the second round of presidential elections. At the same time, any foreign support or involvement in military action in Angola should not be tolerated.

When peace is restored and a democratically elected Government is in place, Japan looks forward to supporting Angola and its people in their efforts to build a new nation.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Zaire. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI (Zaire) (interpretation from French): Like all those who have spoken before me, I should like to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of Zaire on the very effective and professional manner in which you have been discharging your weighty responsibilities as President of the Security Council for January 1993.

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

As I am addressing the Council in painful circumstances, I must now, on behalf of the delegation of Zaire, extend condolences to the French Government, the people of France and the family of Mr. Bernard, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of France to Zaire, who died tragically yesterday in Kinshasa.

This meeting of the Security Council, at the request of the Republic of Angola, which is also to renew the mandate of UNAVEM II and to deal with the outside interference in the internal affairs of Angola, is providing my delegation with an opportunity to shed some light, particularly on the latter subject. However, I should like at the outset to indicate to the Council that Zaire welcomes the decision the Council will soon be taking to renew the mandate of UNAVEM II. Zaire hopes that this effort by the international community will be continued and that it will enable Angola - a friendly and fraternal country - to continue on the path of establishing democratic institutions.

My delegation could have confined itself to this expression of support to the delegation of Angola, which has come here to ask the international community to help it to organize a second round of elections. However, this second round seems ever more remote, owing to the intolerance that is now widespread as a result of the refusal of one of the parties to respect agreements freely entered into. Zaire has spared no effort to convince both parties - MPLA, the party in power, and UNITA - to become reconciled. No one can forget when President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi shook hands in a most distinguished setting, comprising African Presidents, who had been invited to my country for that special occasion. But, with the Bicesse Accords, we felt that Angola would be able to put behind it the crisis imposed on it by history.

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

At least we are encouraged by reports from Addis Ababa, where representatives of MPLA and UNITA have agreed to sit down and talk. We encourage them to go even further and to think of their country's national interest.

I should like now to take up the second subject that I mentioned - outside interference in the internal affairs of Angola. It is not easy for my delegation to speak about interference in the internal affairs of Angola. Zaire and Angola have a common border of over 2,650 kilometres, which is a most porous boundary. Neither Angola nor Zaire have the means to ensure control over this very long boundary. Things are becoming complicated, and I should like to note this historical point: people living on both sides of the border speak the same language, practise the same religion and are part of the same culture. It often happens that an Angolan village might be celebrating a wedding in our country, just as a village in Zaire might cross the border and celebrate a wedding in Angola.

The letter addressed to the Security Council by His Excellency President dos Santos, describes the matter of interference in the internal affairs of Angola. It refers to several soldiers from Zaire who were killed in recent events that had taken place in Angola. This morning, the Minister of External Relations of Angola referred specifically to my country, which was reportedly involved in the battle between the MPLA and UNITA. Present-day Zaire - and I would stress the words present-day - would not dare to interfere in the internal affairs of Angola. Let me tell you why. My country is experiencing a catastrophic economic situation. While the army at one point had been equipped with military-troop transport planes, we do not have any left. We do

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

not have enough military trucks to maintain internal order in the country. I cannot imagine the authorities of Zaire venturing to interfere in the internal affairs of Angola, whereas in our own country tragic events are occurring. The reason why I have raised this matter today is because in the letter of President dos Santos and in the statement made this morning by the Minister of External Relations - the country's highest officials - there was no reference to the innocent victims in Angola - victims of summary execution, victims of hatred, the hatred of a community that has shared its joys and sorrows, a community that is contributing to the building of Angola.

These victims to whom I have referred are from Zaire. In 1992 elections took place. There was some killing at the time. However, Zaire did not then bring this matter to the Security Council for consideration. Zaire is well aware of what it can do to settle such matters with Angola. We have a Joint Commission, which makes it possible for us to pursue dialogue. Along our long border we have all types of problems relating to cross-boundary border violations and theft, and such matters are usually settled daily.

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

But this time, when UNITA took up arms to contest the results of elections in which it had taken part, the Angolan Government, through daily propaganda in the local press, incited Angolan civilians and the army to kill peaceful Zairians living in Angola. Small businessmen lost their lives and property.

What I am about to read out is not from a Zairian source, but from an independent source. I wish to read out an extract from an article by a correspondent of the French newspaper Le Monde, Mr. Georges Marion. The article appeared on Thursday, 28 January this year, on page 3 of the newspaper under the heading

"Zairian's hunted in Luanda".

Mr. Marion wrote:

"For three days and three nights, from 22 to 24 January, the capital of Angola was the scene of a veritable pogrom against Zairians in Luanda and against Angolans from provinces bordering on Zaire. When festivities began, celebrating the foundation of Luanda by the Portuguese at the end of the sixteenth century, civilians armed with machetes or AK-47 (Kalashnikov) assault rifles, looted hundreds of houses, killing or beating the occupants and raping their wives. This repugnant manhunt took place under the complaisant eyes of the police and even at times with their participation. Dozens of people were killed and countless numbers were wounded.

"Everybody knew what was going on. Several Western embassies even advised their nationals to avoid the areas where the killing had taken place. On Monday, when calm had returned, there was a torrent of eyewitness accounts from those who had escaped and had remained in hiding

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

until then. They all said the same: the violence began on Friday morning, almost simultaneously, in the areas of Palanca, Rocha-Pinto, Samba, Petrangol, Hoje-Henda, Mabord, Kikolo and Viana, areas where the large Zairian community in the capital is concentrated. The violence rapidly spread to the markets, where Zairians trade. Everywhere there were the same reports of looting, killing and rape.

"Since the beginning of the week, the press and radio have daily condemned the alleged intervention of Zairian troops in support of Mr. Savimbi's rebellion. The Minister of the Interior warned about the infiltration of commandos ordered to 'promote acts of sabotage and assassinations'. That was seen by the rioters as an official green light. In fact, the police scarcely raised a hand while armed groups broke into the homes of 'Zairians' to loot everything there. The first victims fell resisting the aggressors, followed by those trying to escape. A Belgian and a Portuguese were killed in identical circumstances, but it has not been possible to establish a clear link with the anti-Zairian climate of violence.

"The next day, a semblance of order was re-established, but the trouble did not end. Kinshasa diplomats who tried to intercede with the leaders of the police and with the Foreign Ministry were sent packing. They were refused entry to the morgue at the Boavista Hospital. It was thanks to the help of hospital personnel and the evidence of a number of families that they were finally able to list 62 bodies. That is the only figure that it has been possible to confirm, but there is every reason to fear a much greater total."

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

I hope that the Council will forgive me for having troubled it with that extract from Le Monde. It will understand the gravity of the situation causing my country concern.

Zaire took part, and even made great sacrifices, in Angola's war of independence. I do not think I need raise certain matters that bring unhappy memories to some people. Zaire shared the little it had. Its labour market was open to Angolans, as were its schools and universities. In Zaire today it is impossible for anyone to tell a Zairian from an Angolan. We cannot understand the hatred unleashed against that fraternal population, who took no part in the armed conflict between two movements. It must be said that the reason is intolerance.

My Government has already said that it rejects Luanda's unfounded accusations against Zaire. The Minister of External Relations of Angola made certain assertions this morning. As for the aeroplanes and registration numbers, one could go to the international aviation authorities to discover their origin. The registration numbers are not Zairian.

It must be acknowledged that there is in Angola an old Zairian "colony" resulting from the war of secession between Katanga and the central Government of Congo. Those former military personnel were used by the MPLA and by UNITA to fight colonialism. They found themselves unemployed. Then they were given employment once again, and twice they fought against Zaire - in 1977 and 1978. They returned to the border and crossed it, and now they are in Angola. We know who they are.

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji N'Zaji, Zaire)

The Minister of External Relations said that the UNITA bases are in Djamba. The people I have mentioned come from there. They crossed the frontier near Dilolo and Mutshasha to attack Kolwezi.

We did not bring these disputes to the Security Council. The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has created a framework for Zaire and Angola to settle their differences. We have an observer mission to which we have recourse whenever there is a violation of the border. We ask it to investigate and report to the OAU, which then draws its conclusions. I do not see why anybody should come here with such serious charges against a fraternal country, charges that have no basis.

I wish to repeat to my brother, the Minister of External Relations of Angola, that Angola will always find Zaire at its side, helping rebuild that country and overcome its difficulties, notwithstanding our own.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Namibia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HUARAKA (Namibia): Allow me, first of all, on behalf of the Group of African States, which I have the honour to represent for the month of January, and on my own behalf, to congratulate you, Sir, on the able manner in which you have conducted the work of the Council during the current month. I am confident that under your stewardship and guidance the work of the Council will be successfully concluded.

I would also like, on behalf of the Group of African States, to extend my sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Gharekhan of India, for the efficient manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the Council during the month of December and thus successfully concluded the work of the Council for the year 1992 - a historic year in the annals of the Council, which started with the Council summit meeting.

Unfortunately, however, 1992, in the case of Angola, did not end on the same happy note. The Bicesse Peace Accords were received by the African continent and, indeed, by the entire international community, with the hope that peace would finally return to Angola. The world, and in particular the Security Council, witnessed the elections of September last with eagerness and hope. The elections, as the personnel of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) - supported by numerous international observers - concluded, were conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, devoid of any major irregularities. Through these elections, the people of Angola demonstrated clearly their wish for peace and stability. But jubilation, not only in Angola but throughout the whole of Africa, was short-lived.

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

As is well known, UNITA refused to accept the final results of the elections, and despite the establishment of the Government of National Reconciliation and Unity, comprising representatives of all the major parties that participated in the elections, the country slid back into war and the fighting escalated to engulf almost the entire country. This is a tragedy for peace and stability in the region. Making the situation even more disturbing is the report of foreign intervention in the conflict. Africa is gravely concerned, for such intervention will only worsen the conflict. Africa hopes that the era of foreign intervention in conflicts in Africa is over and that the mercenaries are out of work.

It will be observed that the long war in Angola was nurtured and fought during the era of the cold war. It is a conflict that was fuelled by suspicion and mistrust. During that era, truth was sacrificed, and thus unfounded mistrust and suspicion thrived; even the concept of democracy itself was distorted. As a result of this fear and mistrust, the country, and indeed the whole region, was destroyed.

Trust and confidence must be established among the Angolan people, and fear and mistrust must be dispelled. The new world order has not yet been properly defined nor has it taken shape and form, but it is to be hoped that it is being nurtured by the work and the decisions of the Council. The mission and perception of UNAVEM II are to be found in the vision and norms of the new world order and the new political culture.

The presence of UNAVEM II is necessary for the Angolan people to start building bridges of trust and confidence.

The issue at hand is therefore not just numbers themselves but a visible and effective United Nations presence. The effective, useful and forceful

(Mr. Huaraka, Namibia)

role that the Council has been playing, at least for the past two years, is a clear indication of its position in the formulation of the new world order and, in situations of conflict, of its important role in defusing, both literally and figuratively, the land mines of the cold war. It is this vital and critical role that will shape the norms of the new world order.

It is only recently in the history of the Organization that United Nations peace-keeping forces, acting as a buffer between two opposing forces, were withdrawn, with, as we all know, disastrous consequences, which the international community has as of today not yet resolved. Let the Council not make the same mistake twice, for the consequences will be equally disastrous. Just two days ago, the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, appealed to the international community to give full support to the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Angola, and he further added that this was the time to strengthen the United Nations presence instead of withdrawing or reducing it, if Angola is to be prevented from sliding into a state of anarchy similar to that in Somalia.

The Group of African States at the United Nations supports the meeting now taking place in Addis Ababa between the Government and UNITA and hopes that the meeting - which has already adopted its agenda, with the first item being to establish a cease-fire - will put the Bicesse Peace Accords back on track, and that the new Government of National Reconciliation and Unity will be given a chance to heal the wounds of war and develop trust.

Africa would wish, at this juncture, that the question of Angola be considered from this general perspective. Africa needs, above all, peace and stability for the continent as a whole to develop. Africa needs this understanding.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Namibia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Cuba. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. HIDALGO BASULTO (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): The fact, Sir, that you, the Permanent Representative of Japan, are presiding over this meeting offers a guarantee of effectiveness and impartiality. We know how dedicated you have been in your efforts to see to it that the Security Council, in this and other questions that have come before it, reaches positive conclusions that reflect the consensus opinion of the international community as a whole. Please allow me, therefore, to congratulate you on your assumption and handling of the presidency of this body during the month of January.

I should not wish to go any further without offering my congratulations to Ambassador Chinmaya Gharekhan, who was until a short time ago the Permanent Representative of India, for the effective, responsible way in which he presided over the activities of the Security Council during the month of December 1992. I should be grateful to the Secretariat if it would be so kind as to communicate my sentiments to Under-Secretary-General Gharekhan at the earliest opportunity.

The meeting we are holding today embraces, in fact, two different but complementary dimensions of the current situation in Angola. On the one hand, the Council is preparing to renew the mandate of UNAVEM II, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report on the subject. On the other, it is meeting in response to President Dos Santos's request of last 25 January that new reports of foreign interference in Angola's internal affairs be taken up.

It is obvious that in order to analyse accurately both matters, the necessary point of departure must be the recognition of the fact that the United Nations has a special responsibility for what happens or does not happen in Angolan territory. That country's Government, as a result of the signing of the "Acordos de Paz", requested that the United Nations, by its

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

presence, contribute to the culmination of a process aimed at putting an end to long years of war, including an electoral process that this Organization should observe and verify. The fact that the Security Council has responded to that request and that, in consequence, UNAVEM II has been deployed, has so far been an active demonstration of the exercise of that responsibility.

We were therefore astounded and worried to see that a reduction of the peace-keeping force personnel and its areas of deployment was proposed and even that the possibility of dismantling it was foreseen. This worried us not only because of its implications for the credibility of this Organization and the Council itself and what it could mean for peace and stability in Angola, but also because of its potential consequences throughout the region. It is very clear that an action such as the one which seemed to be in the works would have meant the implicit acceptance by the United Nations, and in particular of the Security Council, of the failure of the peace process in Angola. Such a step would inevitably have smoothed the sad path to the continuation and worsening of the civil war, with its toll of death and desolation, and would also have had very pernicious effects on other processes under way in the same region, such as the one that must inevitably result in the eradication of apartheid in South Africa.

Although, in our view, in the draft resolution it is about to adopt the Security Council has managed to overcome some of the most obvious and immediate dangers that would have resulted from the proposals that were before the Council, we should remain vigilant. The Security Council and, by extension, the Members of this Organizacion cannot allow any other consideration to interfere with their overriding obligation to the destiny of the African people.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

We are totally convinced that it is the duty of all to protect the security and lives of the personnel of the missions of the United Nations on the ground, but it is also our conviction that this essential obligation should not be used as a pretext to take positions out of political considerations or positions that could, also because of political considerations, lead to the definitive failure of processes in which our Organization has an unshirkable responsibility. Never have we heard of proposals to dismantle peace-keeping or similar operations in other regions, even when the number of casualties suffered and the dangers their personnel have to face day to day are painfully and infinitely greater than those that now threaten them in Angola.

It is the duty of the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, to make every effort so that processes such as the one in which the Angolan people are now involved can be completed by means of negotiation and dialogue, without double standards and without formulas, be they defeatist or aggressive, which could bring about catastrophic results for millions of human beings and significant portions of the planet. We hope that in April, with the expiration of the extension of UNAVEM II's mandate, which is about to be approved, the basic documentation the Council will have before it will be more objective, impartial and complete than what has been presented to it today. We also hope that the Secretary-General, by virtue of the flexibility he is granted in the draft resolution, in particular in paragraph 15, and the Security Council itself, in conformity with the provision expressed in paragraph 17, will be able, through timely action, to have a decisive effect for the consolidation of the process and to guarantee an end to all violations of the "Acordos de Paz".

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

In this context and on this occasion we cannot fail to mention another tendency that has been regularly observed in recent times with respect to the case of Angola and that, in our judgement, is tending towards becoming an established practice. We have seen with worry that, once again, in the basic documents the Security Council has before it, there is a tendency to assign equal blame to the parties to the conflict when it comes to analysing the various violations that have taken and are taking place in Angola.

We should not forget that it was the Angolan Government that requested the presence of this Organization in its territory, and it has lent it all manner of assistance for the execution of its functions; we should not lose sight of the fact that it was not the Government of Angola that rejected the results of the electoral process that took place on 29 and 30 September 1992, which was described as free and impartial by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General; we should not overlook the irrefutable fact that it was not the Government of Angola that unleashed new hostilities in an attempt to alter by force of arms what the Angolan people had achieved with their impartial vote; this Council must not ignore the fact that it is not the Government of Angola that uses methods such as kidnapping to achieve its political and military objectives.

If anyone is to blame - and, in fact, we have no doubt that this Council has no choice but to define clearly who is to blame for the prevailing situation in Angola - one must point the accusing finger at those who yesterday, in ignoble collusion with the apartheid regime and its allies, sowed death on Angolan soil, and who today, just as cruelly, try to darken the prospects of peace and stability.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

We do not want, in bringing up these continued attempts to assign equal blame to both parties to the conflict, to have to repeat the tired old arguments about the double standard that usually prevails in the Security Council, and which has become a commonplace, but simply to express our hope that this subject - the situation in Angola - will not become one more example of that abnormal practice.

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

Actions contrary to the Peace Accords, and the very prospect that the United Nations may at some point abandon its responsibilities in this southern African country, are also fertile ground from which the other dimension of this problem, to which I referred at the beginning of my statement, may develop. I refer to the increase in outside interference in Angola's internal affairs. We are of the opinion that the Security Council also has the duty to ensure that no acts of this kind are committed - as the letter of President dos Santos to the Secretary-General of the United Nations dated 25 January 1993 so eloquently states - that may jeopardize peace and stability in the area.

Angola, because of its natural resources and its strategic position, has historically suffered rapine by colonialists, adventurers, racists and mercenaries and has, on more than one occasion, sought international solidarity. We therefore welcome the fact that the draft resolution soon to be adopted by the Security Council reaffirms the decision to preserve the unity and the territorial integrity of Angola and urges all States to prevent any form of interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of that country. We hope that, if circumstances unfortunately require, the Security Council will, as it has on other occasions, take all necessary steps to implement its decisions and preserve Angola's sovereignty.

For Cuba, the situation in Angola and the fate of its fraternal people are of special significance, not only because we have shared very closely in their heroic struggle for independence and sovereignty but also because Cuba, as a party to the New York Accords of 22 December 1988, has made as great a contribution as it has been able to the efforts to bring about Angolan national unity, to promote Angola's stability and to establish, for the entire

(Mr. Hidalgo Basulto, Cuba)

region, the possibility of peaceful change, to which the international community has aspired for so many years now and to which it still aspires.

Cuba has fulfilled its commitments in a completely ethical and moral manner, and so cannot but hope that the international community as a whole will do so too. Therefore, in conclusion, we should like once again to appeal to the United Nations, as a whole, and to the Security Council in particular, by political means and by negotiation, to discharge the responsibilities it has assumed towards Angola and towards its people.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Allow me to begin by congratulating you, Mr. President, and expressing our admiration at this late stage in your presidency of the Security Council of the impressive manner in which you have conducted the business of the Council during this month of January.

Allow me also to congratulate my good friend Ambassador Gharekhan of India on the sterling manner in which he steered the Council's business during the month of December.

We should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Brazil, Djibouti, New Zealand, Pakistan and Spain on their assumption of membership of the Security Council.

My delegation would like to express its appreciation to the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, of his very incisive presentation of the situation in Angola. We should like to thank him for the clear manner in which he presented to the Council what the facts are and what needs to be done.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

The Bicesse Peace Accords and the democratic process in Angola did provide a firm foundation on which the people of Angola could build peace, harmony and prosperity in their country. Zimbabwe believes that it is still not too late to set the Peace Accords back on track. What is required is for UNITA to accept the elementary principle of democracy that the ballot box is the only legitimate route to power. Acceptance of and respect for the outcome of the democratic elections held last September are therefore an important first step in bringing the peace process back on track.

While it is true that the attainment of a lasting peace in Angola is the ultimate responsibility of the Angolan people themselves, it is equally true that the international community, especially the United Nations, has the moral duty and obligation to assist the people of Angola in achieving that lasting peace.

The present problems in Angola should not be a source of despair, but rather should spur the international community to redouble its efforts to nurture the peace process. Indeed, the situation in Angola calls for more involvement by the United Nations, not less. The United Nations should therefore think in terms not only of expanding the role of UNAVEM II but also of expanding it into a fully fledged peace-keeping operation.

We are aware of the vastly increased burden on our Organization of peace-keeping operations all around the world. Further, as a troop-contributing country to UNAVEM II, we are fully aware of the great risks faced by UNAVEM personnel in these operations. Nevertheless, no effort should be spared in the cause of securing peace in Angola. The United Nations should pursue its peace-keeping role there with all necessary vigour and determination until the objective is achieved.

(Mr. Mumbengegwi, Zimbabwe)

The objective is clear: it is the full implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords. In this context, Zimbabwe welcomes the current meeting between the Government of Angola and UNITA in Addis Ababa and the initial progress made. It is our sincere hope that they will soon reach agreement on a cease-fire, troop confinement and the formation of national armed forces, the effective restoration of Government administration throughout the country and the completion of the electoral process.

Zimbabwe believes that the increased presence of the United Nations in Angola is vital for the full implementation of the Bicesse Peace Accords. It is our hope that the international community, bilaterally or collectively, will continue its mediatory efforts with commitment and patience.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Mozambique. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. AFONSO (Mozambique): I should like on behalf of my delegation to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. Your well-known diplomatic skills and your long experience in international affairs constitute an assurance that you will successfully guide the Council in discharging its primary responsibilities with renewed determination.

I should like also to place on record my delegation's high regard and appreciation for the excellent manner in which your predecessor, Ambassador Gharekhan of India, presided over the Council's business last month.

As I am speaking before the Security Council for the first time this year, I should like to congratulate the new members of the Council and to assure them of my delegation's readiness to cooperate with them in the days to come. Let me also seize this opportunity to congratulate the outgoing members on their excellent contribution to the work of the Council during their mandate.

The Security Council is meeting today in order to discharge its responsibilities at an extraordinary time in the history of the people of Angola. My delegation has carefully examined the report of the Secretary-General (S/25140) on the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). The report - together with the statement made this morning by His Excellency Mr. Venâncio de Moura, Minister of External Relations of Angola - illustrate the difficult situation in our sister country, and

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

underscore the urgency and determination with which the international community at large, and the Security Council in particular, must address the issue before the Council today. It is within that framework that we warmly welcome today's deliberations which, we hope, will result in decisions for a positive turnaround in Angola.

As a country linked with Angola by long and special ties of history, brotherhood and friendship, Mozambique was among the first to celebrate the signing of the Bicesse Peace Accords, which represented the culmination of a long and delicate process of negotiations to address the war situation in Angola and to contribute to bringing peace and stability not only to Angola but also to the entire southern African region.

We all welcomed the holding last year, in pursuance of those Accords, of free, fair and internationally monitored elections in that country. Regrettably, notwithstanding the enthusiastic and massive participation of the Angolan people in the elections, the dream of a lasting peace in Angola has yet to become reality. The refusal of one of the key players in the process - UNITA - to recognize and accept the results of the elections has led to the outbreak of violence and the escalation of hostilities, resulting in continued suffering for the Angolan people and in the destruction of property.

In view of this, we believe the international community must put strong pressure on UNITA unconditionally to accept and implement the outcome of the elections and to resume in good faith negotiations with the Government in order to put an end to the hostilities. I should like to emphasize that, if UNITA's behaviour does not meet with a firm response and an unequivocal condemnation by this body, this will not only encourage similar defiance in other regions of the world but, above all, will undermine and weaken the

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

credibility of the United Nations at a time when more and more nations and peoples see the Organization as the best instrument for the maintenance of international peace and security. In my delegation's view, it must be clear that the point is exclusively UNITA's refusal to accept and abide by the results of the elections.

My delegation hopes that good sense will finally prevail and that UNITA, setting aside all differences, will take into account the higher interests of the nation and the people, and will respect the results of the elections and the commitments they freely entered into. We strongly believe that nothing at the present stage justifies a consistent pattern of resorting to violence as a means to achieve political goals. This is a time when all efforts must be made to reunite the Angolan family, which has been divided for so long.

In that regard, my delegation wishes particularly to welcome the proposed extension of the mandate of UNAVEM II with a view to assisting the parties to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities and to proceed without delay to the resumption of negotiations for a lasting peace in Angola. Should the need arise, and subject to consultations on this matter, UNAVEM's mandate could be reviewed and further expanded in the future in order better to address the challenges that will certainly arise in the days to come. More than ever, the United Nations and the international community must extend the hand of solidarity to the people of Angola and its legitimate Government in their quest for peace and justice.

For those reasons, we wish to reaffirm our full support for the Peace Accords and to call on one and all - especially UNITA - to refrain from taking any action that could further exacerbate the already very difficult situation in Angola.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

In that connection, my delegation heard with great concern the reports of growing foreign involvement in the current fighting in Angola. We therefore concur with the appeal to all Member States to take all necessary steps to stop immediately and effectively any direct or indirect military or paramilitary interference against Angola and to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of that country.

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

Respect for the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of others is of paramount importance in assisting the people of Angola and the United Nations to discharge their difficult task. The loss of life and the deliberate destruction of the economic and social infrastructures of Angola should be immediately brought to a halt. Those practices are contrary to the internationally agreed norms of conduct and run counter to the interests and aspirations of the Angolan people.

In the light of the ongoing efforts to resume dialogue and negotiations in Addis Ababa, under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, my delegation would like to invite the entire international community to lend its full and effective support to these efforts. Such a course of action would enhance the spirit of renewed cooperation, coordination and complementarity between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangements in the pursuit of international peace and security, as called for in yesterday's statement of the President of the Council as well as in the joint declaration of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity. It would also allow us to act without delay and to have a positive impact through a coherent, fully integrated, adequate and credible international response to the serious problems at hand. In the view of my Government, the key to the success of all the efforts currently under way must be based on respect for the letter and spirit of the Bicesse Accords and the outcome of the September elections.

In conclusion, my delegation wishes to reaffirm its unconditional support for and solidarity with the people and the Government of Angola at this time of critical challenge. We are ready to do our best to assist in the efforts

(Mr. Afonso, Mozambique)

for peace and harmony in that sister country. A better and peaceful future cannot be eternally denied the Angolan people.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Mozambique for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Portugal. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. CATARINO (Portugal): First of all, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on the most efficient way you have conducted the work of the Council during the current month. I should also like to extend my sincere congratulations to your predecessor, Ambassador Gharekhan, for the able manner in which he guided the deliberations of the Council during the month of December. I also express my appreciation for the presence here today of the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura, to whom I extend my greetings

Portugal and Angola have a very special relationship based both on historical ties over several centuries and on a present-day close friendship and cooperation. We have assumed significant responsibilities in the Angolan peace process, first as mediators in the long and delicate negotiations that led to the "Accordos de Paz de Bicesse" and subsequently as observers. It is therefore with sadness and grave concern that we are witnessing the destructive civil war which is ravaging the country.

The Portuguese Government has consistently held that it is only through the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz" that a lasting peace will be achieved and that all possible efforts must be directed towards bringing the parties to fulfil the commitments set down in these Accords. We will continue to do everything within our power to achieve this objective.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

We would like to emphasize that the Angolan conflict cannot be solved militarily. A political solution must be found within the terms of the "Acordos de Paz" and with due regard for the results of the elections, which have been recognized as free and fair by the United Nations. We further consider that this must also be the paramount objective of the United Nations and of UNAVEM II, from which there can be no deviation.

The role of the United Nations is crucial, and it is our belief that without the United Nations we will not be able to achieve peace and stability in Angola in the foreseeable future. But the efforts of the United Nations must be accompanied by those countries with responsibilities in the process, namely, the three observers: Portugal, the United States and the Russian Federation. We therefore consider that their continued involvement in the process is essential.

In this context, and taking into account the particularly delicate situation at present, my Government believes that the efforts of the United Nations must not be relaxed and that any attitude which might be interpreted as a disengagement could only have a negative effect and would send the wrong signal to the parties. To turn our backs on Angola at this point would have disastrous consequences for the Angolan people and for the peace and stability of the region. It would also set a dangerous precedent for other United Nations peace-keeping operations, which are already facing or may come to face similar difficulties.

We understand and share the frustration over the deterioration of the situation and over the difficulties in promoting dialogue between the parties, and we appreciate the risks that this deterioration represents for the security of the members of UNAVEM II and the observers. However, we would

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

like to stress that the presence of the United Nations must be maintained at an adequate level and not reduced to a degree which might make it lose its visibility, its operational capability and its usefulness as a form of pressure on the parties.

At this time, a meeting is taking place in Addis Ababa which should have as a priority and immediate objective the agreement to a cease-fire. We sincerely hope that this objective will be achieved.

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

In this case it will certainly be necessary for the United Nations to take on the role of supervision. In other words the United Nations must adopt a more active attitude within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz", demanding, namely, that the latter be fully respected.

We therefore insist not only that it is essential for there to be no reduction in the UNAVEM force but also that the doors must remain open for the United Nations rapidly to adapt to new circumstances and resume completely its role, fully respecting the sovereignty of a United Nations Member State, Angola. In this context we commend the draft resolution before the Council; we believe it adequately reflects these important points. It must be made perfectly clear that any violations of the "Acordos de Paz" will receive unequivocal condemnation. Those responsible for the violations must be made to understand that they will not be able to count on the support of the international community and of the United Nations.

We also commend the clear positions taken by the Security Council in the draft resolution before it with regard to its commitment to preserve the unity and territorial integrity of Angola and to the immediate cessation of any external military interference. In fact we have reliable information that Angolan sovereignty has been violated, and we appeal to those responsible for this offence under international law to cease all actions that may have very negative consequences for peace in the region.

We reiterate our appreciation for the efforts carried out by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by his Special Representative, Miss Anstee, throughout the electoral process and in pursuit of the implementation of the "Acordos de Paz".

(Mr. Catarino, Portugal)

Finally, I would like to reaffirm Portugal's active commitment in the creation of the conditions that will permit the attainment of peace, political stability and economic reconstruction in Angola.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Portugal for his kind words expressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Guinea-Bissau. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. TOURE (Guinea-Bissau) (interpretation from French): It gives me great pleasure, Sir, over and beyond matters of tradition, to discharge the pleasant duty of congratulating you. I am convinced that your work will achieve tangible results, as your personal experience is so familiar to us and international interest in your country is so broad. To your predecessor, we convey our commendation on the competence and devotion with which he conducted the business of the Council.

Allow me also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his dynamism and the many initiatives he has taken since he assumed his office. His "Agenda for Peace" is a valuable source of inspiration for maintaining and strengthening international peace. Preventive diplomacy, which is advocated in that document, is a mechanism that requires the support of the international community.

The Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau warmly welcomes the members of the Angolan delegation, particularly the Minister of External Relations of Angola, our brother, Venâncio de Moura, whose competence and humanity are so clear to us all.

Many events have occurred since the latest elections in Angola. Humankind is experiencing a time of hope, but also a time of uncertainty.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea-Bissau)

Granted, there is considerable promise, but there is also insufficient awareness of the dangers. Indeed, the new architecture of the world is being designed against a backdrop of poverty and destitution that rage in the South, compared with the general prosperity seen in the North. I wish to stress that Africa is resolved to fulfil its part of the bargain in order to attain all the development goals as defined by the African community. To that end, we rely on the unswerving support of the international community.

The situation in Angola is one of our concerns. Whereas the international community had tried to find a source of satisfaction in the progress made in the negotiations, recent events in Luanda and Huambo, in addition to the deliberate massacres, strengthen our conviction that the end of the war was proclaimed too soon.

Our country commends and welcomes the deployment of United Nations observers who are helping to strengthen the structures set up by the Bicesse Peace Accords. We are happy to announce here, in our quest for peace, that Guinea-Bissau will participate in UNAVEM II.

Negotiation is the only viable solution. The international community must encourage the resumption of talks in Addis Ababa so that a speedy viable solution is found. My Government appeals to the world Organization, particularly to the Security Council, to give unreserved support to the implementation of the Bicesse Accords.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea-Bissau)

Furthermore, several hundreds of thousands of people have fled Angola to find refuge in neighbouring countries; there are hundreds of thousands of refugees, two thirds of them children and old people. The sufferings of these human beings merit additional efforts by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and non-governmental organizations to provide sizeable assistance.

Halting hostilities and establishing dialogue between the parties to the conflict at one point made possible the holding of pluralist elections, whose results should have been respected in the name of democracy. Unfortunately, that did not happen.

Our concern about the problem of Angola is clear, because nobody can be unaware of the fraternal bonds of friendship between the people of Guinea-Bissau and the brotherly people of Angola. That is why the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, its people and Government welcomed the process of restoring peace in that country, leading to the establishment of a multi-party system and democratic, free, universal elections.

My Government believes that peace can return only if all the factions in conflict demonstrate political will by accepting dialogue and implementing the Accords freely entered into. Only the establishment of an immediate, definitive cease-fire will enable the Angolans to start serious negotiations about the future of their country. There is no point in having international bodies consecrate futile results. The Angolans must agree to bury the hatchet to help the international community help them. A new era will then be ushered in for the Angolan people, allowing them to devote themselves to rebuilding and developing their homeland, ravaged by so much suffering.

(Mr. Touré, Guinea-Bissau)

The Government of General Joao Bernard Vieira, President of the Council of State and of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, expresses anew to Angola its fraternal feeling of solidarity and its fervent hope for a lasting peace. We appeal to the international community to help our Angolan brothers to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

We hope that the peace process in Angola will finally be successful and that the international community will at last be able to celebrate the end of the tragedy into which civil war plunged that country. We encourage the Government of Angola to persevere along the path of dialogue on which it has set out and we exhort UNITA to demonstrate goodwill in order to make possible the speedy restoration of peace to that country, so sorely tried by so many years of violence.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Guinea-Bissau for his kind words addressed to me.

I have just received a letter from the representative of Nigeria in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite him to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Gambari (Nigeria) took the place reserved for him at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: I invite the representative of Nigeria to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. GAMBARI (Nigeria): It is my pleasure to join other speakers in conveying, on behalf of my delegation, warm appreciation of the very efficient and able manner in which you, Sir, as President, have conducted the affairs of the Council.

Also worthy of profound appreciation is the signal timeliness with which the Council has continued to respond to the important demands of trouble spots all over the world, and especially those in my own continent, Africa. This responsiveness, which is no doubt a reflection of the political will and resolve of its members, is particularly reassuring to the entire international community.

I also wish to salute the brilliant presentation made to the Council by the Minister of External Relations of Angola, Mr. Venâncio de Moura.

The troubling situation in Angola has seized the attention of the international community for several years. The United Nations, through this Council, has rightly been instrumental in achieving the remarkable strides so far taken in that country to bring about peace and stability, not only in Angola but in southern Africa as a whole. Indeed, so successful was the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM), that when UNAVEM II replaced it United Nations efforts were beginning to be seen as a model of peace-keeping to be replicated elsewhere.

It is regrettable, however, that, in spite of the efforts of the United Nations, the situation on the ground in Angola has lately deteriorated, so much so that further efforts to advance the peace process in that country have virtually stalled. Ominously, as the Secretary-General's report of 21 January 1993 indicated,

> "The civil war has resumed with all that that entails in human suffering and the further impoverishment of a potentially prosperous country." (S/25140, para. 26)

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

As a country which has itself experienced a tragic civil war, Nigeria is greatly saddened by the developments that have once again ensued in the sister country of Angola, a country with which Nigeria has long-standing political, economic and cultural ties, a country to whose unity, stability and progress we are entirely committed. We therefore urgently appeal to the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) to cease all ongoing hostilities and pursue a course of dialogue and peace. We decry the return to the state of war and the escalation of violence in the country, and urge all Member States to support to support existing international efforts to return Angola to the path of peace and development. We strongly condemn external interference which exacerbates the tragic conflict in Angola. All Members of the United Nations must strive always to be peace makers and peace-keepers, and not peace breakers.

Nigeria wholeheartedly supports the draft resolution on Angola which the Security Council is about to adopt, and we urge the Council to spare no effort in finding a lasting solution to the situation in the country. The good work which the United Nations has already begun in Angola, and which it is still doing through UNAVEM II, must be allowed to continue and, indeed, be strengthened and expanded so that the previous efforts of United Nations operations in Angola will not have been in vain.

Finally, my delegation is convinced that much should and can be done to prevent Angola from returning to a state which could grow worse than the country has known since it became independent. We must not allow anarchy, another Somalia, to develop. In respect of Angola, now is not the time for

(Mr. Gambari, Nigeria)

half measures by the international community. It is certainly not the time to consider stopping assistance to that country. Rather, it is the time to step up international efforts to accelerate the process of a negotiated settlement of the conflict in Angola so that the United Nations in particular and the international community as a whole will be even more valued and ever more credible partners with the people of Angola in the search for durable peace, territorial integrity and democratic order in that country.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Angola wishes to make a further statement, and I now call on him.

Mr. VAN DUNEM "MBINDA" (Angola): My delegation would like to take the floor once again to clarify that what our Minister has said is proof of blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola. My delegation was not going to speak again, but since the Zairian delegation took the floor and said things with which my delegation does not agree, I should like to say a few words.

All the allegations made by the Zairian delegation that pertained to the camouflage of the proven allegations of Zairian intervention on the side of UNITA go against the Charters of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. Thus, the delegation of Zaire needs no further testimony of these facts since we have as prisoners four Zairian soldiers, whose names were mentioned here in my Minister's report. The facts speaks for themselves. My delegation feels that we should not take much of the Council's time; but since, as I said, my delegation has the right to a further statement, I am asking for your indulgence, Mr. President, and that of the other members of the Council so that I may state the following.

As for the hospital that the Zairian delegation has mentioned here, let me say that no hospital by this name exists in Angola. The Zairian delegation used press sources that are unfounded; they are false allegations. My Government did not use any press clippings to present the case of the violations represented by Zaire's interference inside Angola. We have only provided proof.

As for what happened regarding the actions vis-à-vis the population of

(Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda", Angola)

Zaire in Angola - as my brother from Zaire put it, the "hunting" of Zairians - this is not the responsibility of the Government of Angola, since these are the actions of the population, but my Government is doing everything possible to put an end to that situation. The police also are dealing very effectively with those actions. In addition, let me stress that those actions were caused by the Zairian Government itself.

I will not make use of these or other allegations, but I should like to take this opportunity to inform and all members of the Council that today, even as we are meeting, members of the staff of the Angolan Embassy in Kinshasa are trapped, almost under arrest, due to the intensive fighting promoted by Zairian soldiers. Some staff members of the Angolan Embassy in Kinshasa have managed to escape and reach the city of Brazzaville, in Congo, where they are being given all the necessary assistance. The Third Secretary has been seriously wounded and as a consequence lost both legs. In addition, another staff member has unfortunately also been wounded. The houses of five staff members were broken into, and as a result all their belongings were stolen. Two motor vehicles were stolen, besides the general damage caused to other motor vehicles.

This is the reality of the situation. It shows the aim of the Zairian authorities and represents another violation of the Vienna Conventions. This constitutes a crime. It is very sad indeed to see that a sister country, Zaire, has come before this lofty international body, the Security Council, to justify violating agreements instead of stressing the efforts of the people and the Government of Angola.

As was noted by my brother, the representative of Zaire, we have a very long border with his country. But I must say, on behalf of my delegation

(Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda", Angola)

and my Government, that up to now - although we have a very long border with Zaire, which makes it difficult to control - no soldier of my Government has gone to Zaire and fought alongside any other forces or has tried to destroy any property of the Zairian Government. Therefore my delegation does not accept the allegations of the delegation of Zaire, which are aimed at avoiding the Council's strong condemnation of Zairian provocative actions on the side of UNITA. The Zairian Government's actions on the side of UNITA are known by everyone. Since 1985, we have had proof of Zairian interference inside Angola, and what my Minister said here earlier proves this.

When my President wrote a letter to the Secretary-General and to you, Mr. President, to request an urgent meeting of the Security Council, I do not think that he had no proof. That is a very big responsibility on the part of my Government and that of the President. I would rather call on the delegation of Zaire to immediately stop its involvement in our internal affairs and to assume responsibilities and an attitude that are in conformity with the Charters of the OAU and of the United Nations and especially with those agreements reached on the bilateral level.

(Mr. Van Dunem "Mbinda", Angola)

I do not think there is any need for me to mention the allegations or the evidence of Zairian involvement in the internal affairs of Angola. I do not think I have to waste the Council's time.

I should like once again to express my thanks for the opportunity to speak, and, on behalf of my Minister, who spoke this morning, to say that it is a great pity that the Government of Zaire, a sister country, can send its troops to fight alongside UNITA against my Government.

The PRESIDENT: The representative of Zaire wishes to make a further statement. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI (Zaire) (interpretation from French): My delegation believed that with the explanation that was given, the Angolan delegation - which I have reminded on several occasions of the fact that we have bilateral mechanisms for settling our differences - was going to draw the lesson of this appeal and avoid poisioning the debate and keeping the Council here unnecessarily.

I believe that, like the Angolan delegation, the most important question that compelled my delegation to make a statement is that of obtaining from the Security Council a renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II). The accusation of interference in the internal affairs of Angola - I have said this before and I say it again - is irresponsible. It is irresponsible and the statement we have just heard from the Permanent Representative of Angola is illuminating. The Permanent Representative of Angola said that the Government of Angola has nothing to do with the killings.

Who is keeping order in Angola? The Ambassador of Angola mentioned the situation in my country as of yesterday. I mentioned it, I am not ashamed

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji
N'Zaji, Zaire)

of it, and I have nothing to hide. I expressed my condolences to the French delegation. Those who shoot are uncontrollable elements within our own army. The organized part of the army is trying to restore order. The army did not attack the Angolan embassy. As far as I know, the Angolan embassy is in Trente Juin Boulevard, at the intersection of Batétel Avenue, and the bulk of the disorder in Kinshasa has taken place in the commercial centre, exactly where the French embassy is located.

Allow me to tell the Ambassador that I thought, when he asked to make a second statement, that he would at least - and I stress this point - have been sure to express some regret for the summary executions of some of my countrymen who live in Angola, participate in the reconstruction of Angola and take part in the economic and cultural life of Angola. I am thinking now of that well-known song that goes, "He called me 'brother' and he shot me in the back".

There is a proverb in my country that says, "When you fight with your wife in your own house, don't blame your neighbour".

In my first statement, I said that in Angola you should be above this. Intolerance should be left behind. UNITA is not a Zairian creation; it is and will remain an Angolan creation. Peace in Angola will have to be made with UNITA for national reconciliation; Zaire is not going to come and make peace in Angola.

The representative of Angola mentioned the arrest of four Zairian soldiers. As I have said, we have a porous border. How many drunken Angolan soldiers have we arrested in Songololo and in Kamba? They are drunk, and we send them back to the regular Angolan army. Zaire has never brought them up in the Security Council as mercenaries come to stir up trouble in my country.

(Mr. Lukabu Khabouji
N'Zaji, Zaire)

I did not want to take so much of the Council's time, but I am sorry that the Angolan Government is unable to express the slightest regret over the killing of innocent people, and yet the representative of Angola lectures me on yesterday's events in Kinshasa, which he has mentioned. Perhaps he is right, but I repeat that those are uncontrollable elements. When I have the information, I shall go to see the Ambassador and I shall tell him what happened.

We used extracts from the press, which we had a right to do, because we wanted to quote an independent source, and this is what drove Luanda up the wall. You have incited the populace. The representative said clearly in his statement that there are acts committed by the populace for which the Government is not responsible. What an admission of irresponsibility for a Government! This is the first time I have ever heard that one. I shall report accordingly to my Government and we shall draw the necessary conclusion.

The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it (S/25187). Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 804 (1993).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.